1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

[622
441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

Merchant

[463]

Lawyer

Doctor

Women

● [759]

Sailor, bravo

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

776 cape-like over-garment. She carried a turquoise-colored weaving-stick.

Seventh Chapter: here is named the goddess called Seven Snake[29] (Chicome coatl).

Chicome coatl—this one represented [and] had in her charge our food,[30] men's livelihoods of whatever sort; their food and drink.

And in this manner was she adorned: her face was painted with red ochre; she had a paper headdress; she wore a shirt [ornamented with] water-flowers[31] and a skirt [ornamented with] water-flowers; also she had foam-sandals;[32] she carried a sun flower shield, a sun shield.

Jnic chicome capitulo: vncan mocnneua, yn cioatrutl: yn jtoca, chicome coatl.

Chicome coatl: ixhoatl ipan mjtzcoia, quimjxiptlatiuia, in tonacaiotl: yuan in çaço tlein yuamca, yiolca macoualli, ynjoa, ynquale.

Auh yuiju ynnochichioale catca; ixtlauhxocale, amacale, axochiavipile, axochiacuaie, no poçulcaque, tonalchimale, tonatiuhchimale.

Eighth Chapter: here is named the goddess called the Mother of the Gods (Teteu innan), who is also named Heart of the Earth (Tlalli yiollo) and Our Grandmother (Teci).

Jnic chicuei capitulo: vncá mocnneua, yn cioatrutl, yn jtoca: Teteu yuna: no motocaiotia, Tlalli yiollo, yuan Toçi.

She was the mother of the gods. Her devotees were [759] physicians, leeches, those who cured sickness of the intestines, those who purged people, [and] eye-doctors.

Jnnã catca yn teteu, quimoteutiaja, in tiiici, in teitzmjnque, tetzinanque, tetlaocujlique, teixpatique.

Also women, midwives, those who brought about abortions, who read the future, who cast auguries by looking upon water or by casting grains of corn, who read fortunes by use of knotted cords, who cured sickness by removing stones or obsidian knives from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eyes.[33] [791]

Auh yn cioa, temjxiuiztique, tepillalilique, tetlatlatilique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchaiauhque, tecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixcujlanque.

Likewise owners of sweat-houses prayed to her; wherefore they caused her image to be placed in the front of the sweat-house. They called her "Grandmother of the Baths."

No ixhoantin qujtladauhtiaia, in temaxcalcque; ypampa y, quitlalilaia yn jxipila, in temaxcalixpuac, quimocaiotiaia, temaxcalteci.

776 And when there was a feast, when it was time for the 796 slaying, the physicians were good to her who impersonated Teteu innan, that she might not weep [nor] whine. They solaced her; they flattered her; they satisfied her caprices; they amused her. They wished her not to weep. They bid [her fate] from her;[34] they made merry with one another about slaughter; they battled; they made war; they cried war-cries as if in battle. There was an array of warriors; insignia were given [and] gifts; the valiant soldiers, adorned with mantles, painted with white chalk, adorned with feathers, surrounded her and took her up.

Auh yn jquac, yn jxipila: mjmatca ce tlacatl ommoqujxia, yn jouia, ynnepantla oalmoquetzaia, vmentin ycuexoa, quiujcaia, quiuitztiuitiuja:

And when she who was the likeness [of the goddess] was slain, then a man put on her skin as a shirt, and stood between two of his Huitznaua,[35] who accompanied him on either side.

---

29. See Plate 29, which explains the name.

30. Since Chicome coatl was goddess of maize, this section must refer to the various uses of maize, which was basic to Mexican civilization.

31. *Cf.* Edouard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 448.

32. Although Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 444) uses the term "foam," he cites Sahagún as referring to *flechsen*. Illustrations show the gods wearing, in fact, feathered sandals.

33. Sahagún describes these words in detail. See Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," in *Tlalocan*, Vol. II, No. 3 (1947), pp. 235-54.

34. *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 178.

35. Seler, *Ensayo Kapiel*, p. 6. *Cf.* also Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 178, referring to the Tuxi festival: "*dan delante de ellos aquellos sus devotos que se llaman tzoalton.*"

The eleventh month they named Ochpaniztli. On the first day of this month they celebrated a feast to the mother of the gods, named Teteo innan, or Toçi, which meaneth "Our Grandmother." They danced in silence for the honor of this goddess, and in great silence slew a woman dressed with the ornaments with which they represented this goddess.

Al vndecimo mes llamauan Ochpanjztli: El primero dia, deste mes, haziã fiesta a la madre de los dioses llamada Teteu inna o Toci, que qujere dezir nuestra abuela: baylauan a honrra desta diosa en silencio y matauan vna muger en gran silencio vestida con los ornamentos que pintauan a esta diosa.

796 X [805 776]

Chapter 11
Ochpaniztli

Five days before this month began, all the feasts and merry making of the previous month ceased. Entering this month, they danced eight days without singing and without beating the two-toned drum. These past, there came forth the woman who was the likeness of the goddess whom they name Teteo innan, arrayed with the ornaments with which they pictured the same goddess; and a great number of women came forth with her, especially the medicine women and midwives. And they split into two bands and fought, pelting each other with balls made of tree parasites and from the leaves of the *tuna* cactus and with balls made from the leaves of reeds, and with flowers which they call *cempoalxochitl*. This merry making lasted four days.

These ceremonies and others of like kind ended, they brought it about that that woman should not know she was to die, so that she should neither weep nor be saddened; for they held that to be an omen of evil. The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly, and persuaded her that they were taking her so that some great lord might sleep with her; and they bore her in great silence to the pyramid where she was to die. Having taken her up, one [of the priests] took her upon his back, shoulder against shoulder, and swiftly they struck off her head, and then they flayed her. And a stout youth put on her skin.

This one who wore the skin of the woman whom they had slain they then bore off with great solem-

1. Marginal notation: *September his dies sunt.*

Cap. 11.
Ochpanjztli.

1 b KL
2 c Cinco dias antes que començase este
3 d mes: cesauan todas las fiestas y regozi-
4 e jos del mes pasado entrando este mes,
5 f baylauã ocho dias sin cantar, y sin
6 g teponaztli: los quales pasados, salia la
7 A muger que era ymagen de la diosa q̃
8 b llaman teteu inna, compuesta con los
9 c ornamẽtos con que pintauan a la
10 d mjsma diosa, y salian grã numero de
11 e mugeres con ella: especialmente las
12 f medicas y parteras: y partianse en dos
13 g vandos y pelleauan apedreandose con
14 A pellas de pachtli y con hojas de tunas
15 b y cõ pellas hechas de hojas de espa-
16 c dañas, y con flores que llamã cempoal-
17 d sochitl. Este regozijo duraua quatro
18 e dias.
19 f Acabado estas cerimonjas y otras
20 g desta calidad: procurauan que aquella
muger no entendiesse que auja de morir porque no llorasse nj se entristeciesse porque lo tenjan por mal aguero: venjda la noche en que auja de morir, atajauanla muy ricamente, y haziãla entender que la lleuauan para que dormjesse con ella algun gran señor: y lleuauanla con grã silencio al cu, donde auja de morir: subida arriba, tomauala vno a cuestas espaldas con espaldas, y de presto la cortauan la cabeça, y luego la desollauan: y con mancebo robusto vestiase el pelejo.

b 21
c 22
d 23
e 24
f 25
g 26
A 27
b 28
c 29
d 30
e 31
f 1
g 2
A 3
b 4
c 5
d 6
e 7
f 8
g 9

[534 535] [759] [524 137] [787]

Este que vestia el pelejo desta que matauan: lleuauanle luego con mucha solenjdad y acõpañan-

The Thirteenth Movable Feast

In the sign which they called ce itzcuintli, [which] they said was the sign of fire, they held a great festival in honor of Xiuhtecutli, god of fire. In it they offered him much *copal* [incense] and many quail. They arrayed his image in many kinds of papers and with many rich adornments. Among the rich and powerful, they celebrated a great feast in honor of the fire, in their own houses; they held dinners and banquets in honor of the fire. In this same sign they held elections of lords and coñsuls, and in the fourth house of this sign they enacted the formalities of their elections, feasts, dances, and gift [giving]. After these feasts, they forthwith proclaimed war against their foes.

La tresena fiesta mouible.

En el signo que llamauan ce itzcuintli: dezian que era el signo del fuego: hazian gran fiesta a honrra de xiuhtecutli, dios del fuego: en ella le ofrecian mucho copal, y muchas codornizes: componjan su ymagen, con muchas maneras de papeles, y con muchos ornamentos ricos: entre las personas ricas y poderosas, hazian gran fiesta, a honrra del fuego, en sus mismas casas, hazian combites, y vanquetes, a honrra del fuego. En este mismo signo: hazian la election de los señores y consules, y en la quarta casa deste sino: hazian la solẽnjdad, de sus elecciones, combites, y areytos, y dones. Despues destas fiestas apregonauan luego la guerra contra sus enemigos.

The Fourteenth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce atl, in the first house of this sign, they celebrated a feast to the goddess of water, named Chalchiuhtli icue. All those who dealt in water celebrated the festival—those who sold water, as well as those who fished, and those who gained other livelihoods which there are in the water. These arrayed her image and laid offerings before her, and revered her in the house called *calpulli*.

La catorzena fiesta mouible

En el signo llamado ce atl: en la primera casa deste signo, hazian fiesta, a la diosa del agua llamada chalchiuhtli ycue: hazian la fiesta, todos los que tratauan en el agua: assi vendiendo el agua, como pescando, como haziendo otras grageria, que ay en el agua. Estos componjan su ymagen, y la ofrecian, y reuerenciauan, en la casa llamada Calpulli.

The Fifteenth Common Movable Feast

The lords, leading men, nobles, and rich merchants, when a son or daughter was born to them, paid much heed to the sign, the day, and the hour in which he was born. And of this they forthwith set out to inform the judicial astrologers, and to ask as to the good fortune or ill of the child who was born. And if the sign in which he was born was propitious, they had him baptized at once; and if it was adverse they sought the most favorable house of that sign [in which] to baptize him. When they baptized him, they banqueted the kinsmen and friends, so that they would be present at the baptism, and then they gave food and drink to all the guests, and also to the children of the whole suburb. They baptized him at sunrise in the house of his father. The midwife baptized him, uttering many prayers and performing much ceremony over the child. This [same] feast they also observe today in the baptism of their children, as to feasting, eating, and drinking.

La quinsa decima fiesta mouible comũ.

Los señores, y principales, nobles, y mercaderes, ricos quando les nacia algun hijo o hija; tenjan gran cuẽta con el signo en que nacia; y el dia, y la hora en que nacia: y desto yuan luego a ynformar a los astrologos, judiciarios: y a preguntar por la fortuna bueno o mala de la criatura que nacia. Y si el signo, en que nacia era prospero, luego le hazian baptizar, y si era aduerso buscauan la mas prospera casa de aquel signo para le batizar. Quando le batizauan, combidauan a los parientes, y amigos: para que se hallassen presentes al batismo: y entonce dauan comjda, y beujda, a todos los presentes, y tambien a los njños, de todo el barrio: baptizauanle, a la salida del sol, en casa de su padre, baptizauale la partera, diziendo muchas oraciones: y haziendo mucha cerimonja sobre la criatura. Esta fiesta, tambien la vsan agora, en los baptismos de sus hijos, en quanto al combidar, y comer, y beuer.

The Sixteenth Movable Feast

As soon as the parents saw that their son was of

La sexta decima fiesta mouible.

Despue los padres vian que su hijo era de edad para

X 796 **Thirtieth Chapter:** here are related the feasts and the ceremonies which were performed on the days of the eleventh month, which was named and known as Ochpanixtli.

The eleventh feast was known as "The Sweeping of the Way."[1] At this time the actual feast had not yet arrived. For another five days nothing was done; there was then no activity. And when five days had passed, then began the hand-waving dance—when there were fifteen days before Ochpanixtli. It was carried on for eight days.

X 796 535

And thus they danced the hand-waving dance: All were arranged in order; four rows were formed; all formed four lines. Thus they danced: They went marching only in circles; their hands were filled with Tagetes flowers and branches, which they went grasping in either hand.

They did not sing; none called out; they went in complete silence.

[273] But if some mischievous youths became drunk, they imitated the ground drums. As the ground drums roared, just so they went about doing. [The dancers] went moving their hands here and there; they moved in equal rows. None broke ranks; none turned [another] from his course; none went astray.

And when the hand-waving dance began, it was already near sundown. And when all ceased, the sun had already set. And when eight days had passed, then began the mock-battle [of the medicine women], which they carried on for four days before the house of song and dance.

X 796 [278] In this manner and in this way proceeded all the medicine women—old women, maidens, and some of the harlots:

They were divided [into two bands. The likeness of] Teteo innan went with a certain number [of them, and] as many more went opposing her, skirmishing against her, [that] thus they might banish her sad thoughts, her sorrow; [that] they might amuse her and cause her to laugh; that she might not be sad. For if she should weep, it was said, it would be an omen of evil. It was said that many men who were dexterous as warriors would die in

Injc cempoalli on matlactli capitulo: vncā motenecoa in ilhujtl, yoā in tlamaviztililiztli: in muchioaia in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl oce metztli: in mjtoaia, in motenecoaia: Ochpanjztli.

Injc matlactetl oce ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenecoa, Ochpanjztli: in aiamo onaci, in vel iquac vel ilhujtl: oc macujlilhujtl, in aiatle muchioaia, in çan oc cactimanj: auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl njmā ic vmpeoa in nematlaxo, iquac in tlacaxitolti ochpanjztli: chicuelhujtl in muchioaia.

Auh injc nematlaxo, netetecpanaloia, nappantioa, nenappantililo: injc mitotiaia, çan nenentivi, tlatlaiaoaloa, cempoalxochitla mapoxtectli in immac tetĕtiuh, nenecoc in immac qujzitzitzqujtivi:

amo cujcaia, aiac naoatia; çan nō[illegible]ivi:

tel intla cequjntin in telpuchtlaveliloque, in mjivintia contlaeccalhuja in vevetl: in juh caqujzti vevetl, çan no iuh quịchiuhtivi, necoccampa in conjauhtivi imma, çan tecpantivi, çan cemonotivi, aiac chicopetonj, aiac tepatilia, aiac oxchicoquịça.

Auh in peoaia in nematlaxo, ie teutlac: auh in necacaoaloia ie ōcalaquj tonatiuh. Auh in otzonquiz chicuelhujtl: njmā ic vmpeoa in çonecali, navilhujtl in muchioaia: vncan in cujcacalli ixpan.

Ivin in muchioaia, iuhquj in, in muchioaia: in jxqujchtin cioatitici, in jlamatque, yoan in jchpuchti, yoan cequjntin aviençme:

motecloaia, monepātlaxeloaia, ixquj intlan mātivi, in teteu innan, no ixquj in quinamjctivi, in quitiaiavtla, ic quịpopolohtiaia in jtlaocul, quitlatlacaxiloaia, quivevetzquitiaia, injc amo tlaocuiaz; auh in tlachocaz, quilmach tlatetzaviz: quil mjec tzumj-

1. *Barrendero de caminos*, as Cuellar's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 306); *das "Wegkehren,"* according to Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 171); *fiesta barredora*, in Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 190.

war, or that many women would die in child-bed, when from their wombs [children] would come.

And in this wise did they proceed in the mock-fight: First began [the party of the woman who was the likeness of] Teteo innan to pursue the others. With her were the great medicine [women]. The [first] one [was named] Aua; the second, Tlauitecqui; the third Xoquauhtli. These three were her old women.

In this manner they pursued and pelted the others. Thus they proceeded hurling at them matted tree parasites[2] gathered into balls, and reeds pressed into balls, and cactus leaves, and Tagetes flowers. And all carried tobacco gourds girt to their waists. Once again they fell upon [the others], pelting them as they went. [And] not for long, but for only a few times, were they pursued.

And thereupon they took [her in the likeness of] Toci[3] where she was guarded. For four days they proceeded with their skirmishing.

And when the four days of skirmishing had ended, then, upon the morrow, she tramped over her market place toward sundown. As she came forth, the medicine [women] encircled her. When she was surrounded, then [the priests of] Chicome coatl[4] came out to receive [her who impersonated Toci]. And when they had come forth to receive her, they made a great circle [about her]. And when she was surrounded, then she came into the midst of them. Then she scattered, there, cornmeal. Thereby she tramped over her market place[5] for the last time, as if taking leave of the market place.

And when she had tramped over it, then they took her where she was guarded, at her temple. Much did the medicine [women] console her.

They said unto her: "My dear daughter, now at last the lord Moctezuma will sleep with thee. Be thou happy."

They told her not that she was to die. For verily she was to die unaware. Then they adorned and completely arrayed her.

And when it was midnight, then they led her forth [to the temple]. Then none spoke, none talked, none coughed; [it was] as if the earth lay dead, late at night. And everyone gathered round in the darkness.

And when they came to the place where she was

qujz, in quauhtli ocelutl: anoço mjequjntin mocioaquetzazque in cioa in jmiti ic iazque.

Auh ivi in, in muchioaia injc çonecalia: achto peoa in teteu innan in tetoca, itlan mantivi in vevei titici. Iehoatl in Aoa: Jnjc vme Tlavitecquj. Injc ei xoquauhtli. In iehoantin im eixtin y, ilamaiooa:

796 X

[759]

injc qujntoca, qujntepachotivi: injc qujntepachoa, papachtli ica, tlaolollalilli, tlaolollalili, yoan toltapaiolli, yoan nupalli, yoã cempoalsuchitl: yoã muchintin imjietecõ ic mocujcujtlalpia: enocuele qujntepatztia, qujntepachotivi: amo vecaoa çan quezquipa, in ommototoca.

[824]

Auh in ic iuhquj, njmã ic qujvica in toci, in vmpa pielo: inin navilhujtl in qujchioaia in mjcali:

auh in otzonqujz in çonecali, navilhujtl: njmã imuztlaioc in qujoalicça itianquiz, ie teutlac: injc oalquiça cololhujtivitze in titici: auh in ie iativitz, njmã ic qujoalnamjquj in chichicomecoa: auh in oqujoalnamjcque njmã ic oallaiaoaloa: auh in ontlaiaoalo, vncã vmmoquetza, in tlanepantla: njmã vncã contetepeoa, tlaoltextli: njmã ic conjcça in jtianquiz, ça iiopa, ça ie cõnaoatia in tianquiztli.

Auh in oconjccato, njman ic qujvica, in vmpa pielo, in jteupan, cenca qujiollalia in titici:

qujlhuja. Nochputzin, ca iequene axcã motetzinco aciz in tlatoanj Motecuçoma, ma ximopapactzino:

amo qujmachitiaia in jmjquiz, çan iuhquj in ichtaca mjquja: mec qujchichioa, qujcencaoa.

Auh in jquac ie onaci iooalnepantla njmã ic qujvica, çan njmã aiac naoati, aiac tlatoa, anoac tlatlaci, ça iuhqujn tlalli mjctoc: auh ixqujch tlacatl, cenquiçaia in iooalsica.

Auh in oconaxitique vncã mjqujz: njmã ic qujoal-

2. Spanish bromeliads; *Tillandsia usneoides L.* (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 106).
3. Toci: identical with Teteo innan and with Tlaçolteotl. Cf. Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 14; Vol. II, Pt. 4, p. 45.
4. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.
5. "*A este passeo llamavan ecomençiaste del tianquez porque nunca mas auia de bolver a el*" (corresponding Spanish text).

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

726 heartened by the death or capture of many principal warriors, gave way in an unmistakable manner.[164] Then a precipitate

[164] Besides Tezozomoc, who is so full of details on these fights that it is wasting space to quote him extensively, we find the most concise and reliable statements in Mendieta's "Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana." The descriptions of Mendieta agree perfectly with those of Tezozomoc (less with those of Duran), while the two authors had nothing in common, besides, Mendieta, the revered Franciscan father, terminating his work about 1596, and Tezozomoc, the simple Indian, his MSS. in 1598. Neither of these works were printed previous to this century. Mendieta says (Lib. II, cap. XXVI): "At "the outset they sped stones by slings, and rods like darts. . . . . They also threw "stones by hand. Thereafter they resorted to sword and shield, and the archers went "in at the same time well protected thereby, and thus they spent their ammunition. "The archers from Tehuacan sometimes were so dexterous that they sped two or three "arrows at once with the same precision as one bowman would shoot one alone. Af- "ter the vanguard had spent a good deal of their munition they charged with sword "and dart, the sword being of wood, long, and lined with cutting pieces of flint. It "was tied to the wrist, in order that dropping it they might seize an enemy (as "their main object was to capture men alive) without losing the weapon. They had no "style of fencing, neither did they charge directly, but skirmished and rushed back "and forth. At first one party would turn to flee, as it seemed, the others pursuing, "killing and wounding and capturing all those lagging in the rear. Then the party "fleeing would suddenly turn back upon the pursuers, which fled in turn. Thus they "proceeded as in a tournament ('juego de cañas'), until they were tired, when fresh "bodies moved up to take up the fight. They had well disposed and agile people to "care for the wounded, bringing them to the rear where their surgeons were with the "medicines, healing and nursing them." See also, Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXV), and the Anonymous Conqueror (Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 374): "during the fight they shout "and sing, uttering sometimes the most horrid shrieks." (Mr. Prescott speaks of hospitals which "were established in the principal cities." This is doubtful, at least.) The most detailed account of such an engagement is found in Tezozomoc (Cap. LII, p. 84), confirmed in the main by Durán (Cap. XXXVII, pp. 289 and 290), where he describes the disastrous fight of the Mexicans (1479) against the Tarasca of Michhuacan. It appears from the description of the former that during this bloody conflict, lasting a whole day, the different tribes moved up in succession and distinct from each other. There is but one instance of a higher tactical move, and this is found in Tezozomoc also (Cap. XCVIII, p. 93). When the Mexicans sallied against Tlaxcallan: "the gen- "eral Cuauhnochtli commanded that the Chalca should go by one road or path, those "of Aculhuacan by another, the Tecpaneca by another, and the Mexicans in the centre "where the Tlaxcallans were expected to be; all the other tribes extended in order to "take the Tlaxcalteca in the middle" (surround them). Notwithstanding the glowing descriptions of Clavigero, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl, those engagements turn out to be ordinary Indian skirmishes on a large scale, in proportion to numbers, of course, but still after the same principle. These same authors even indicate, involuntarily, that there were less actions of masses, than individual exploits. For instance, Torquemada relates (Lib. II, cap. LXI, p. 183) that the principal chief, dressing himself in the garb of a common warrior, challenged the prominent chieftain of the enemy to single combat and overcame him, which deed decided the fortunes of the day. Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," Cap. XLV) even tells us how a single Tezcucan brave alone fell upon the enemy while his own army was yet at breakfast, and put them all to flight. If such stories are true, they militate strongly against the impression which these same authors would convey to us, of formidable hosts, well organized, opposing each other. A commander, responsible for the fate of tens of thousands committed to his guidance, could not expose his own person in such a manner. Either these stories, or the representation of the numbers engaged, and their tactics, are untrue.

[759] "Surgeons" are mentioned both by Mendieta and Torquemada. The Mexican name of surgeon is "texoxotla ticitl" (Molina, I, p. 35). "Texoxqui" means a sorcerer, and

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

retreat began on one side, and an equally rapid pursuit on the other.[165] The objective point of this retreat was the settlement or "pueblo" of the attacked tribe, but if the vanquished succeeded in placing between them and their pursuers some natural obstacle, like a river, or deep ravine, or if they took refuge upon a wooded range of steep hills, then the victors were arrested, as they seldom ventured to attack when this attack necessitated a strong simultaneous effort on the part of the whole force.[166] Still less could they execute rapid flank-movements. In course of time they might circumvent certain obstacles, but then their supplies were so limited that, if there was no positive indication of success, either in storming the position *without great danger*, or in carrying it within a very *short time* by some rude feint, they preferred to desist from further endeavors, and to return home with whatever spoils the battlefield alone had furnished. Thus they "collared"[167] their captives (which had been carefully watched behind the battle-front) and returned to Mexico in moderate triumph, leaving it to future times to proclaim: that such and such a tribe had been subdued by them, whereas they had only defeated it in one engagement, and the tribe had still preserved afterwards its complete independence.[168]

"ticitl" a physician or diviner. Both agree very well with the conception of an Indian "medicine-man." There are, besides, evidences that priests went to war also, and I would suggest that it may have been a part of their duties to care for the wounded. A certain class of priests were called "tlamacazqui," certainly derived from "tlama," physician or doctor.

[165] A slow and orderly retreat is a movement hardly known to Indians. They rush either way, advancing or retiring. Even the return of the Mexicans from the unsuccessful onslaught on the Tarasca (Tezozomoc, Cap. LII. p. 84) was as near to a disorderly flight as possible. Durán says (Cap. XXXVII, p. 291): "El rey Axayacatl mandó, "alçar su real, y asi como huyendo y medio afrentado, con la poca gente que le auia "quedada, todo desbaratado y lo mas de la gente herida."

[166] Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 131): "Those who gained the battle continued the pursuit "until the opponents reached some place where they could fortify themselves." Also, Tezozomoc (Cap. XXII, p. 34, and cap. LVII, p. 94).

[167] If, on the battlefield, a captive still resisted, they cut the tendons of his feet, thus rendering him incapable of motion. After the action the prisoners were secured by wooden collars ("cuauh-cozcatl") and thus they were led home in the van of the returning force. Arrived at Mexico they were conducted first to the chief-teocalli, and after prostrating themselves before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, *were marched around the great stone of sacrifice.* (Compare the relation of Adair, "History of the American Indians," Argument XVI, pp. 165 and 167.—Return of a Chikkasah war party from a foray into Illinois, in 1765.)

[168] Such was the case with Meztitlan (Cap. LVII, p. 94, of Tezozomoc, and Durán, Cap. XL, p. 314). Tizoczic made about 40 prisoners, and returned with the loss of 300 men ("Y que con aquello auian los contrarios recogidose a' sus lugares"). Still it is mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl as subject and tributary to the valley tribes.

761

761 **LIFE AND DEATH--theories about life and death; notion of a life force; conception of death (e.g., as natural, as unnatural); beliefs about the causes of death; attitude toward death (e.g., confidence, fear, fatalism); etc. See also:**

Theories of health and disease 75
Conception of fate, animistic beliefs, eschatology, and myths about origin of death . 77
Mortality statistics 165
Prescriptions for longevity 886

only misery, poverty, vanity, misfortune, and a life of woe.'

And if one were born at that time he was looked upon with fear; he was shunned. And if he were a man, they named him Nemon, Nentlacatl, Nenquizqui. Nowhere was he counted; he was not a man. And if it were a woman, [they named her] Nenciuatl.

And when [these days came], nothing was done; the palaces and courts were empty; no suits were judged. All stayed at home. None swept with brooms; they only fanned [the dust] with a fan, or a turkey quill, or with the wing of a bird; or they beat and cleaned with a cloak.

And no one might then quarrel; [for] this was strongly forbidden to people; it was severely forbidden to them. They were charged that none might wrangle. Neither might one sleep during the day. [If so,] it was said: "[So] shalt thou always."

Nor should anyone fall, or trip, or stumble. All walked softly. And to one who stumbled, they said: "Thou hast the Nemontemi; so shalt thou be. Be thou careful."

And whosoever then took sick and was ill, [of him] everyone said: "He hath sickened. Never more will he rise; no more may he have hope. That he will recover there is no hope." No longer had they hope for him.

And if one yet escaped [death], neither would any pay heed to him nor speak to him. It was said: "For it is only that he by whose grace we live hath acted and determined of his own will."

None, therefore, were comforted nor moved. His kin forgot him and laid him on the ground. No more might he be able to leave, to some degree get up [again], and take nourishment. For the setting in of the Nemontemi was terrifying.

For he had no day sign; he had no name; wherefore no one might, in truth, practice medicine and heal one, nor read the meaning of the days. For verily the days were not numbered; they had no count in all these four days.

linjlizti, nenquizcaiotl, nenquiçaliztli, ilonemitinemjliztli.

Auh in aquin vncan tlacatia, cenca tlamauhcaitilizia, tlatẽmachililoia: auh intla oquichtli quimocaiotiaia Nemõ, nentlacatl, nenquizqui, acan ompouhqui acã, ompovi nenoquich. Auh intla cioatl: Nẽncioatl.

Auh in iquac y, atle aioaia, çan cactimãca in tecpan inteccali, amo tecutlatoloia, çan calonocaia; aiac tlachpanaia, ochpaoaztica: çan tlaiecapeviloia, ecacaztica, anoço totolmamaztica, toiolaavitztica, anoço tlavivitequja, tlapopovaia tilmatica:

yoan aiac vel vncan maoaia, cenca tetlacaoaltiloia, cẽca tetlaquaohnaoatiloia, tetepitznaoatiluia, tecocoltiloia inic aiac maoaz: ano ac cemjlhujcochia: vncan teilhujloia. Centicujz:

ano ac vel motlavitequja, moticujnjaia, moteporlamjaia; nemaica, nenemoaia: auh in aquin motepotlamjaia: qujlhujaia. Otimonemovi, ocenticcujc, ma timjmati.

Auh in aquin ipan y, cocoliztli qujcuja mococoaia: muchi tlacatl qujtoaia, Concocoliscuj, aocmo qujçaz, aocmo motemachiz, in aço patiz, aocmo temeiolloti, aocmo itech ca netemachilli:

auh intla aca oc maquiça, aoc ac itlamatian aoc ac itlatoaian: mjtoa. Ca ça oscnotlama, in jpalnemoanj, ça oquimonomavili, oquimoiocuilili:

aocmo iuh catca teiollo, ca oica netlapaloloc, nezllaquacaloc, oquizcauhque injoniolque, ca oiquitecaque: aocmo, iuhcan quizcoaiã inon oquẽtelitzin, mocatiquetz, inon oihiio qujcujc, ca temaubti in jpan opeuh ilhujtl Nemẽtemj:

ca atle itonal, ca atle itoca: ipampa aiac vel vncã ticitoca, tepatia, tetlapovia: ca nel amo vmpouhquj, atle ipocallo in jnquilhujtl navilhujtl.

4. The Tonay Calendar (Holden and Gibson, op. cit., p. 36) adds that people did not gather at the temple, and that the priests performed no sacrifices nor other ceremony such.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecaciuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

[761] "My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

764 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolnaucatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecaciuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath pro-
775 vided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

"For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings.[4] For

Injc ce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa yn imanjman in miquja in vmpa ỳa mjctlan, yoan in quenjn tocoia.

In juh qujmatia in nican tlaca in veuetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxquichtin miquja. Eacan in vi, yn iquac miquj.

Jnjc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onec, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihoutl, yn iciouh mjctlī tecutlè

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlī ichoantin, in jxquichtin tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in macenalti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihoatl, anoço pilhōtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in moniquilaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc veztoc, in çan oc acantoc.

Nopiltze oyhjiotl ticmomachiti, oticmociavilti, onitzmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocenchan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titotonio ca, çan ipaltzinco titiximatico in totecujo.

auh in axcan ca onitzalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Aculnaoacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihoutl, ca onitzalmotetzonti, ca onjtzalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjian, vmpa tlalpatlana, ca oiccen onquiz,

ca otonmovicac in quenamjcan, ximoonian in vilo-
nian, in apochqujiaoniecā, in atlecalocan, ca ocmo
ceppa miloch monecuepol ticchiaua, ca ocmo tiosalla-

1. Tlamatzcuel, in the Aztec column, is probably to be read thamatzcuel.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún invariably translates cuitlalpan as inferno, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
4a. The terms apochquiaoniecatl and atlecalocan might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For discussion see here and synopsis.

764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what
[775] thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou leavest bereft and orphaned thy children and grandchildren. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

● 761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force; apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy]
764 half-tortilla." Take courage. Of what avail is what we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our lord hath willed and commanded that he hath already fulfilled his office and reached his end here. What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth alone and awaiteth the commandment of our lord, be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son, use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers and fathers have gone, they who well uttered and recounted their consolations and lamentations. And this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers and fathers have entreated thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound the paper. And when they had prepared the paper adornment, thereupon they arrayed the dead one; they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl, and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and thereupon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped them round and round him and tied them firmly

matiz in monica motepotzco, in macujl in matlac, ca otiquimonjcnocauhteoac, otiquimontlacacauhteoac, in mopilhoan, in mexvioan, ca ocmo tihoallamatiz y çaço quen popolivizque, ca motech tonacitivi, motech tonpachivitivi, in macujl in matlac.

Auh izcatquj ic qujtlatlauhtiaia in mjccaoa.

Nopiltze ma ixquich xicmanili, ma ixquich motlapal xjcmochivili, ma ximochicaoa, ma ticcauh yn atolatl, in tlapâqui, ma ximelaquâoa, quennel tiquitoanj, cujx çan aca ic techcocolia, cujx çan aca ic techqueloa, ca oquimonequilti oquimjtalhuj in totecujo, ca ie vncan ca itqqujuh, ca ie vncâ ca itzonqujçaia, quen xoconchioa in ma oc achitzin ca in ma oc cemilhujtzintli conmotlanevianj in tlalticpac.

Auh ynjn tlacuelchoutl ontoneoa, onchichinaca in moiollotzin in monacaiotzin, tlacuelchoutl ontlaioautica in vncan ontlacauhteoac, in vncan ocontlatolchiaia in totecujo, tlacuele centlamjcxoconmomachiti in jcnopilotl,

quennel timotolinja, nopiltze ma ixquich motlapal, xicmochivili, ma nocuele iuhqujn tlaocoli tocontolo, ca çan nican achitzin, ic ticchicauhtivitze in moiollotzin, in monacaiotzin, ca nican popovi ixtlavi, in naniotl, in taiotl, ca otlanemiuhiantili in totecujo, ca oiaque in monanoa in motaoa, in vel quiteneoaia in vel quijpoaia in choquizio, in ixaioiotlatolli. auh ca ie ixquich, injc nitzmotlatlauhtilia yn monaoa, in motaoa tle ticmatcatzintli.

Niman qujntlachichiviliaia yn amatlamatque, in veveteque in machiceque catca: yn amatl quixotlaia, quitetequja quihilpiaia. auh in oquicencauhque in amatlatqujtl, njman ie ic quichichioa in mjcqui, quicocototztlalia, icpac contoca atl,

quilhuja. Jzcatquj yn oticmotlamachtico ino ic tinenca tlalticpac.

auh njmâ achi contonco contoca in atl, conmaca quilhuja.

Yzcatquj injc tnootlatocat,

njman itic conaquja niman ie ic quiquiximilca, quitecuhquimilca, quitecuhilpia, quicacazilpia in mjcqui njman ie quimamaca, in iamatlaqui, auh in

B. G. Editor, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Matritense.

681 And then also at that time died those who were
696 in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

Auh yoan no iquac vncā mjquja in quaubcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei quiztzacuicatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in motenteoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oquitlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cenquintin vncan mjquja,

643 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he
761 was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca monealtiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moquixtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhquin oc ceppa inca mopilquixtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleioita, momauizçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

A 787 And when someone was then born,[5] they feared
851 that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

Auh in aquin ipan tlacatia, quimacacia inic vncan temoa: auh quin jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi quiqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

A 787 And also it was said that he who was then born
754 a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[6] That
791 is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into something [else]: because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[6] etc.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aquin ipan tlacatia pilli, nacalli mochioaia tlāciuhquj, quitoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla quimonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

auh intla macecaiih, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moquixtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynacol mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, quicenmama, quicemololoa, in jxquich tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempechioace, tetlatlacuepili, teiolmalacacho, teiolmala-

---

3. An additional phrase in the Real Palacio M1 will change the meaning somewhat: *oyamo malnaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, one then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

4. Ángel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos fin Sahagún." *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del espíritu [sitting o pareja en La leyenda de los soles]. . . . De esa primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicidad de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se consulte el breve capítulo de usmar las formas que él quiere, de aparecer en diversos medios y lugares, de ejercer obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay en tahuelli poderoso y maléfico.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali, nahuale, "verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conserva muy bien el significado, como el mago, que usa embaucar, fundados o ello subjetivos, enclusive a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: tahuahuaqui, mentir disimulado, con cautela, astutamente: tahualcuitia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; tahualhuhuia, sonhar mintiendo, etc. Cabe decir, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de tahuelli o un derivado suyo."*

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al demonio que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman tahuelli. . . .*

". . . *quando el niño nasce, el demonio por el parto expresso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o ofrece al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por tahuel, que es como dezir por suerte de su natividad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamavan hado, y en virtud desse parto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

". . . *advierte la denominacion y significacion del nombre tahuelli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raizes que significan: la primera, esconder, la segunda, hablar con imperio, la tercera, ocultarse o rehuyarse, y aunque es conocimiento para que se acumulen las dos primeras significaciones, me quadra mas la tercera, que es del verbo tahuelchia que es ocultarse embrauecidos con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que rehuyarse, y assi, tahuelli dize rehuyado, o dispuesto debaxo de la apparencia del tal animal, como dixo communmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 11, n. 1, *supra*.

1 A [i.e., the day One Rain. - Anonymous]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

Inje matlactliomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel ajman amo qualli. 787X

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it thawed, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

!n jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechtzecanjaia, qujnquechtzonviaia, qujntzecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuecochvivitequj, qujnquatzepipitzinja, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi. No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mjtoa: ca iehoan inca motzcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omotencuhque tlatlacateculo, in nanacoalti, auh inje imacaxoia, in ipan in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in tlacateculotzocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacactzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 681 684 727 761● 789 824

But the merchants,[2] these known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away — the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê quivimatia, qujmaviztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzalchalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie ixquich cozcatl, in concapetlatl, in patlaoac, in pitzatzc, xiujtl: auh in ixquich nepapan iviti, iñ quetzalli 441 527 556

1. *Xonacatl.* — Frazier: J. Summaria: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 134: *jocoteta — Bromelia pinguin L. "En México, nombre culgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un manojo de alcoca y cria hojas semejantes a las de la pita. . . . propiedad comercializable."*

2. *Tzonteteuhtin* also as "men of Pochtlan," a barrio of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were: Tiçaoa, Macuilmalinal, Xihuitl, Tlaltl, Xilo, Tepanquetzal, Coyotlinchauh, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yiacatecutli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotlauti en pochtecatlahtolloc, "mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dixesemos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y entre los mexicanos . . . se entiendo el que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Guiding ed., X, 14, 5).

Jane, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 68): *"aber chichimekischen Volksstamme in der südlichen des Lees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxotlan was a merchant's barrio in Tenochtitlan; gods were: Nose Elected, Chimmequatzel, Xoxouxtl, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecatzintli (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jane, *op. cit.*, p. 328, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: *"Mann aus dem Orte Ouitznaua . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Käufe und Marktschaffer versteht als der auf seiner Reise gehende Grosshandelsmann, auch Kaufmann i. A."*

5. Ibid., p. 105.